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The Vital Issues
in the Industrial Conference
at Washington, D. C.

October 6-23, 1919

National Industrial Conference Board

November, 1919

National Industrial Conference Board

15 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

BRANCH OFFICE

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THE VITAL ISSUES IN
THE INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE
AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOVEMBER, 1919

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Foreword

THIS pamphlet is issued as a concise and accurate statement on the principal subject of discussion in the recent Industrial Conference at Washington, D. C., action on which led to the withdrawal of the Labor Group from the Conference. It also gives the text of the resolutions submitted in the course of this discussion, and on the various resolutions relating thereto.

In a narrow sense, these resolutions refer to the subject of collective bargaining; as a matter of fact, they involve many of the most fundamental questions before the Conference, such as the right to organize, responsibility of voluntary organizations, the maintenance of the open shop principle, and other vital industrial issues.

The pamphlet is based on the official record of the proceedings of the Conference. It endeavors to make clear the position consistently maintained throughout the Conference by the Employers' Group on the issues under discussion. This group was composed of the following:

Representing the Chamber of Commerce of the United States:

HOMER L. FERGUSON, President of the Chamber, and President Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, Newport News, Virginia.

HERBERT F. PERKINS, Vice-President International Harvester Company, Chicago, Illinois.

JOHN J. RASKOB, Vice-President E. I. duPont de Nemours and Company, Wilmington, Delaware.

ERNEST T. TRIGG, General Manager Johnson-Lucas Paint Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

HARRY A. WHEELER, Vice-President Union Trust Company, Chicago, Illinois.

Representing the Investment Bankers' Association:

EDGAR L. MARSTON, Senior Member of Blair & Company, New York City.

HOWARD W. FENTON, Vice-President Harris Trust & Savings Bank, Chicago, Illinois.

Representing the Farmers' Associations:

- T. C. ATKESON, President National Grange, Washington, D. C.
C. S. BARRETT, President Farmers' Co-operative Union, Union City, Georgia.
J. N. TITTEMORE, President American Society of Equity, Omro, Wisconsin.

Representing the United States Railroad Administration:

- R. H. AISHTON, Regional Director, Northwestern Region, Chicago, Illinois.
CARL R. GRAY, President Western Maryland Railway Company, Baltimore, Maryland.

Representing the National Industrial Conference Board:

- FREDERICK P. FISH, Chairman of the Board, and Senior Member of Fish, Richardson & Neave, Boston, Massachusetts.
JOHN W. O'LEARY, Secretary and Treasurer Arthur J. O'Leary & Son Company, Chicago, Illinois.
EDWIN FARNHAM GREENE, Treasurer Pacific Mills, Boston, Massachusetts.
S. PEMBERTON HUTCHINSON, President Westmoreland Coal Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
LEONOR F. LOREE, President Delaware & Hudson Company, New York City.

Harry A. Wheeler was elected Chairman, and the undersigned was elected a Secretary of the Employers' Group, and as such prepared this account of the Industrial Conference.

MAGNUS W. ALEXANDER.

BOSTON, MASS.

November 8, 1919.

The Vital Issues in the Industrial Conference at Washington, D. C.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE

Early in September, 1919, President Wilson invited certain individuals, and asked certain associations to send delegates, to an Industrial Conference "for the purpose of consulting together on the great and vital questions affecting our industrial life and their consequent effect upon all of our people."

The Conference was to consist of fifteen representatives each of employers, employees, and the public. The President reserved to himself the selection of the public representatives. The fifteen representatives of the employees were to be named by the American Federation of Labor. The fifteen representatives of the employers were to be chosen, five by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, five by the National Industrial Conference Board, two by the Investment Bankers' Association, and one each by three Farmers' Associations, namely, the National Grange, the American Society of Equity, and the Farmers' Co-operative Union.

When the Conference convened at Washington on October 6, 1919, it was found that the Public Group, appointed by the President, consisted of twenty-five members instead of fifteen, while the Labor Group included four officials of the Railroad Brotherhoods in addition to the fifteen representatives of the American Federation of Labor. To the Employers' Group of fifteen were added two railroad executives selected by the President. This composition of the various groups was announced by Hon. William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, who acted as temporary Chairman of the Conference.

No official explanation of the reason for the altered numerical composition of the respective groups was made. It is important to call attention to the solidarity of the Labor Group, consisting of representatives of organized labor exclusively, and to the heterogeneous character of the membership of the Public Group appointed by the President. The latter group included several employers; one labor union leader from the membership of the American Federation of Labor; also two well-known Socialists and one woman delegate who declared themselves to be in full sympathy with organized labor. Unorganized labor, although comprising a vast majority of the workers of the country, was thus unrepresented. The Employers' Group likewise lacked homogeneity. Thus two of the farmer representatives placed in the Employers' Group repeatedly stated that they were not employers and that they belonged more properly in the Labor Group. In fact, one of these has been for some years a Fraternal Delegate to the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

In this composition of the various groups lay one of the great difficulties in the situation confronting the Conference.

When called to order, the Conference had no definite program of work or method of procedure before it. No agenda had been prepared. It had been expected that the President would make some announcement which would serve as a program for the Conference, but his illness prevented this.

The Conference, therefore, proceeded unaided to its own organization. It selected Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, as permanent Chairman.

The Conference then established a set of rules of which the most important are the following:

Rule II. Any subject a conferee may desire considered by the Conference shall be presented in writing only after its presentation shall be assented to by the group to which its conferee is accredited, and when presented and read to the Conference shall not be discussed or debated until reported back to the Conference by the General Committee or some other committee having the same in charge, as hereinafter provided for.

Rule III. A committee to be known as the General Committee, consisting of fifteen conferees, five from each group, shall be created. All matters presented to the Conference under Rule II shall be considered without further act of Conference, as referred to the General Committee for its consideration. . . . The powers and duties of the General Committee . . . shall be to properly classify all communications . . . and to report the same back to the Conference with or without recommendations, provided, however, that no communication shall be reported from any committee with recommendations unless such recommendations are concurred in by a majority of each group represented in such committee.

Rule VII. The expressions or conclusions of the Conference shall be arrived at in the following manner:

The vote of each group shall be ascertained by the majority rule within such group, but upon all questions no expression or conclusion shall be arrived at unless the three groups are in accord.

Rule VIII. Voting shall be by groups and the vote of each group upon all questions shall be stated to the chairman of the Conference by the chairman of the group, and in the event that any group desires a recess for consideration with respect to its vote a period of twenty minutes shall be allowed such group for such purpose.

INTRODUCTION OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

After the organization of the Conference had been completed, various resolutions and statements were introduced by individuals and groups and referred to the General Committee. These included a set of "Resolutions and Declarations" presented by the Labor Group and a "Statement of Principles" presented by the Employers' Group. The declaration of the Labor Group contained the following three propositions:

1. The right of wage-earners to organize in trade and labor unions for the protection and promotion of their rights, interests, and welfare.
2. The right of wage-earners to bargain collectively through trade and labor unions with employers regarding wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment.

3. The right of wage-earners to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment.

The Labor Group also introduced a resolution calling for arbitration of the strike in the steel industry by a committee from the Conference. This steel strike resolution was reported to the Conference by the General Committee without recommendation. Its adoption was strongly opposed by several members as not germane to the purposes of the Conference. After some discussion, the chairman of the Public Group moved

“that action on the steel strike resolution be deferred until the General Committee reports on the question of collective bargaining, and that the General Committee be directed to report on this resolution [on collective bargaining] not later than Thursday [the following day] afternoon at 2.30 p.m.”

This motion was carried by a majority of the Conference under a suspension of the rules. The minority, however, contended that the steel strike resolution should first be disposed of by vote and also that consideration of collective bargaining should not precede a discussion of the general subject of industrial relations.

On the latter point, a similar view was expressed by the Public Group in a letter to the President issued at the final adjournment:

“We believe that the experience of this Conference, and of similar conferences elsewhere, clearly showed the futility of attempting to deal with this question in a piecemeal way, by adopting detached and unrelated resolutions. The only efficient method, in our judgment, is that of formulating a comprehensive and systematically developed program. . . .”

The steel strike resolution, not having been disposed of, remained a potential issue and colored much of the subsequent discussion on collective bargaining.

At the appointed time the General Committee reported without recommendation the following resolution, the adoption of which was then moved by a member of the Labor Group:

"The right of wage-earners to organize in trade and labor unions, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers, and in respect to wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment is recognized."

"This must not be understood as limiting the right of any wage-earner to refrain from joining any organization or to deal directly with his employer if he so chooses."

It should be noted that the first paragraph of this resolution was directly constructed from the first three propositions of the labor program on collective bargaining above quoted. The words in common in the two statements have been underscored. The second paragraph of the resolution was added as a recognition of the rights of the individual worker.

After some discussion the Employers' Group submitted the following substitute resolution:

RESOLVED, That, without in any way limiting the right of a wage-earner to refrain from joining any association or to deal directly with his employer as he chooses, the right of wage-earners in private as distinguished from governmental employment to organize in trade and labor unions, in shop industrial councils, or other lawful form of association, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor, and other conditions of employment, is recognized; and the right of the employer to deal or not to deal with men or groups of men who are not his employees and chosen by and from among them is recognized; and no denial is intended of the right of an employer and his workers voluntarily to agree upon the form of their representative relations.

Members of the Employers' Group urged that there should be no pressure to hurry through resolutions of such fundamental importance without due deliberation. They maintained that the original resolution of the General Committee — often referred to as the Chadbourne resolu-

tion, Mr. Chadbourne being chairman of the General Committee — was not only ambiguous and capable of more than one interpretation, but also premature, because a preliminary consideration of many collateral subjects was absolutely necessary before intelligent action could be taken upon it. The substitute resolution aimed to clear up the ambiguity and to insert necessary safeguards for the protection of individual rights. Speakers from the Employers' Group said again and again that they did not deny the right of wage-earners to organize and that they did not oppose the principle of collective bargaining. As one member of this group stated:

It is impossible for any member of this Conference to doubt the assent of the Employers' Group to collective bargaining; that is, its recommendation and the recognition of the desirability of collective bargaining and of personal contact between the men through representatives and the employer in dealing with all the questions that arise in the employment relation. (*Official Proceedings.*)

They declared emphatically, however, that no employer should be coerced into bargaining collectively with his employees through an agent of labor unions who is not one of his employees. They pointed out that such agent usually is not familiar with the circumstances of the issue, and has primary interests other than those of the employees whom he claims to represent; and furthermore, that usually he is not really chosen by the employees, but by the labor union.

Recognition of the attitude of the Employers' Group on this issue is found in the following excerpt from the letter subsequently sent by the Public Group to President Wilson:

" . . . We deem it important to emphasize the fact that the Conference did not, at any time, reject the principle of the right of the workers to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers. Neither the Conference as a whole, nor any group in the Conference, opposed the right. The difficulty that arose and the issue upon which the Conference failed to agree was not upon the principle involved but upon the method of making it effective. In our judgment, even this difficulty would not have been insurmountable, had the Conference approached its task in another way. . . . "

The discussion greatly elucidated the subject matter of the resolutions and seemed to some members of the Conference to indicate the possibility of a compromise.

A motion was therefore made by a member of the Public Group to refer both the original resolution on collective bargaining and the substitute resolution proposed by the Employers' Group back to the General Committee; this motion was adopted by the Conference over the objections of the Labor Group. The General Committee was instructed to render its report to the Conference on the following Monday morning, October 20th.

Throughout the intervening Saturday and Sunday, the General Committee strove to arrive at a statement of the principle of collective bargaining that would be acceptable to all parties. In the course of their discussion doubt arose in the minds of certain members of the Public Group as to whether or not the words in the original resolution, "to organize in trade and labor unions," would be interpreted to exclude the right of wage-earners to organize in other associations such as shop industrial councils. Upon this point, the chairman of the General Committee reported to the Conference that two members of the Labor Group in the Committee objected to the insertion of the words "and other associations" after the words "trade and labor unions" and that these members of the Labor Group argued that the true construction of the original resolution meant that it

"inhibited and prohibited the idea that any other body [than] a trade or labor union could be meant by the resolution, and that it was an invitation to the wage-earners of this country to join no other organization, an invitation going out from this Conference to wage-earners to join no other organization except a trade or labor union." (*Official Proceedings.*)

This contention by two leading members of the Labor Group fully justified the position taken by the Employers' Group against the original resolution on the ground that that resolution recognized the right to join only trade and labor unions without also recognizing the equal right to join shop industrial councils or other lawful forms of association. The substitute resolution offered by the Employers' Group recognized the broader right of wage-earners to organize in all such associations.

No agreement having been reached in the General Committee by the following Monday, that day was spent in group discussions. The Conference reconvened on Tues-

day, October 21st, and, in the regular order of business, first considered the substitute resolution proposed by the Employers' Group and voted it down, the Labor Group and the Public Group standing together against it. When the original resolution of the General Committee was then called for, the following substitute resolution was offered in behalf of the Public Group:

"The right of wage-earners to organize in associations of their own choosing, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers and in respect to wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment is recognized.

"This must not be understood as limiting the right of any wage-earner to refrain from joining any organization or to deal directly with his employer if he so chooses."

The difference between this resolution and the original resolution lies in the substitution of the words "in associations of their own choosing" for the words "in trade and labor unions."

After some discussion this substitute resolution of the Public Group was brought to a vote and lost, both the Labor Group and the Employers' Group opposing it. The Labor Group no doubt objected to any implication that the resolution recognized the right of wage-earners to join other associations than trade and labor unions. The Employers' Group voted against it for the same reasons that they had already advanced against the original resolution.

The vote in the Employers' Group was unanimous, fourteen out of seventeen members being present. At the same meeting of the Employers' Group it was also voted without dissent (the three farmer representatives not voting) that the Group should vote against the original resolution of the General Committee when it came up for action.

Following the defeat of the substitute resolution of the Public Group, the original (Chadbourne) resolution came before the Conference for a vote, but before action was taken a member of the Public Group asked Mr. Gompers whether

“you and your group will do either one of two things: either add ‘or other organizations’ after ‘labor and trade unions’ in the resolution, or give it as your group’s interpretation on this record equally as solemn as the vote that is taken upon the resolution, that it is the interpretation of the gentlemen in your group that it does mean any other organization or any other association.” (*Official Proceedings.*)

Mr. Gompers made no reply.

The Public Group then presented a new substitute resolution as follows:

“The right of wage-earners to organize in trade and labor unions and other organizations, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment is recognized.

“This must not be understood as limiting the right of any wage-earner to refrain from joining any organization or to deal directly with his employer if he so chooses.”

The only change of wording here from the original resolution is the addition of the words “and other organizations” after the words “to organize in trade and labor unions.” This new substitute resolution was defeated, the Labor Group and the Employers’ Group voting against it.

The original (Chadbourne) resolution on collective bargaining was then submitted to a vote and defeated by the adverse votes of the Employers’ Group and the Public Group.

Immediately afterward, the long-pending resolution for arbitration of the steel strike was called up and defeated, the Public Group and the Employers’ Group voting against it.

With the steel strike resolution and all of the collective bargaining resolutions thus voted down by the Conference, that body had arrived, after eleven days of deliberation, at a point where it was again confronted with the necessity for a program of work. The Chairman of the Conference urged the preparation of a definite program before dis-

cussing any specific part of it, and this attitude was supported by a letter from President Wilson, read to the Conference on the following day, in which the President stated:

"I am advised by your Chairman that you have come to a situation which appears to threaten the life of your Conference, and because of that I am presuming to address a word of very solemn appeal to you as Americans. It is not for me to assess the blame for the present condition. I do not speak in a spirit of criticism of any individual or of any group, but after having called this Conference I feel that my temporary indisposition should not bar the way to a frank expression of the seriousness of the position in which this country will be placed should you adjourn without having convinced the American people that you had exhausted your resourcefulness and your patience in an effort to come to some common agreement. . . .

"It is my understanding that you have divided upon one portion only of a possible large program which has not fully been developed. Before a severance is effected, based upon present differences, I believe you should stand together for the development of that full program touching the many questions within the broad scope of your investigations. . . . The public expects not less than that you shall have one end in view and stay together until the way is found leading to that end or until it is revealed that the men who work and the men who manage American industry are so set upon divergent paths that all effort at co-operation is doomed to failure.

"I renew my appeal that with a full comprehension of the almost incomparable importance of your tasks to this and to other peoples, and with full faith in the high patriotism and good faith of each other, you push your task to a happy conclusion."

In response to the President's appeal, a member of the Public Group expressed appreciation of the President's interest in the proceedings of the Conference and offered a resolution urging that each delegate pledge himself to continue the work for which the Conference was created. Objection to the giving of such a pledge having been expressed by Mr. Gompers, the motion was withdrawn and a recess was taken. On the reconvening of the Conference and after a brief complimentary reference to President Wilson, but completely ignoring the appeal in the President's letter, Mr. Gompers submitted unexpectedly a new resolution on collective bargaining as follows:

"The right of wage-earners to organize without discrimination, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment is recognized."

The Employers' Group once more challenged the propriety of considering collective bargaining in advance of a consideration of its collateral issues. This Group again expressed its objection to a resolution which might compel an employer, even in an open shop, to deal with his employees through outside agencies. Objection was also raised to the phrase "to organize without discrimination" on the ground that it would, in effect, sanction such organizations as that of the I. W. W., and that, judging from past experience in similar circumstances, it might be heralded by labor organizations as indicating that employers recognized the necessity of the unionization of industrial establishments and of collective bargaining through labor unions as distinguished from other forms.

In support of the contention of the Employers' Group that the Labor Group did not mean to recognize the right of workers to organize in shop industrial councils and like associations, the following resolution adopted by the American Federation of Labor at its Annual Convention in Atlantic City, June 9-23, 1919, was cited:

"Whereas, many steel corporations and other industrial institutions have instituted in their plants systems of collective bargaining akin to the Rockefeller Plan . . . Resolved, that we disapprove and condemn all such company unions and advise our membership to have nothing to do with them; and be it further resolved, that we demand the right to bargain collectively through the only kind of organization fitted for this purpose, the trade union, and that we stand loyally together until this right is conceded us." (*Official Proceedings.*)

This statement led a member of the Public Group to ask Mr. Gompers the following question:

"In the first place, I would like to ask Mr. Gompers to reconcile what in my mind are diverse statements. We asked you yesterday, Mr. Gompers, in the group meeting, whether the resolution which you then stood for . . . [the original

resolution on collective bargaining] in your mind, prevented or permitted instead to effect the formation of so-called shop unions . . . and you said then, as you, I believe, later said publicly here, that you did not deny the right to organize in that fashion, or that you did not recall up to that time that right had ever before been challenged, or that there had been on the part of the American Federation of Labor a question of that right involved. That, in my mind, does not seem to reconcile with the resolution of the Atlantic City Conference as read by Mr. Loree. That is one question.

"The second question is: If this resolution is satisfactory to you today, why was not the substitute resolution which was brought in yesterday satisfactory, which was almost identical?

"I should like very much for the clarification of my own mind and that of several other members of our Group to have him answer this question." (*Official Proceedings.*)

In his answer Mr. Gompers said:

"I do declare most unhesitatingly that it is not fair to anybody for a man to rise and quote a declaration of anybody, particularly when that declaration is supposed to be antagonistic to the position which some of the participants occupy. Secondly, the declaration of the American Federation of Labor resolution was the expression of its opinion and its position, and undertakes to do what it could and what it would, what I declared to this Conference, that we are going to keep the right of persuading and arguing in man-fashion that the shop organizations shall be a thing of the past and that the *bona fide* organizations of men and women of labor shall take their places where men and women can express themselves freely and uncontrolled except by their own conscience and judgment." (*Official Proceedings.*)

The Conference then proceeded to vote on the resolution offered by the Labor Group. The resolution was lost. The Public Group and the Labor Group voted in favor of it; the Employers' Group voted against it by a majority of ten to four, the minority comprising the representatives of the railroads and two farmer delegates.

Thereupon the Labor Group, under Mr. Gompers's leadership, withdrew from the Conference.

Both the Public Group and the Employers' Group expressed their willingness to continue with the work of the Conference, but Chairman Lane stated he would relieve the Employers' Group from further attendance,

since it was the President's desire that the work should now be carried on by the Public Group.

The following statement, prepared by the Employers' Group for inclusion in the official record, clearly summarizes the position of that Group:

The Employers' Group, with a profound recognition of its responsibility to the industrial organizations of this country, large and small, and to the public, including wage-earners, organized and unorganized, submits the following as a statement of its grounds for voting in favor of its substitute resolution of October 17th as to collective bargaining and against the Chadbourne* resolution of October 16th relating to the same subject matter. Its action was based on certain propositions which it believes to be fundamental.

1. The matter of collective bargaining was brought before the Conference prematurely. It should have been taken up only after full consideration of conditions in this country in all their relations that the nature, character, and effect of collective bargaining and sound methods for its application might be apprehended.

2. The Chadbourne resolution is ambiguous and capable of many inconsistent interpretations. No resolution upon such an important subject should be passed which did not bring clearly to the attention of the people of the United States definite and well grounded views of the Conference.

3. The Employers' Group regards it as of vital importance that the employers and employees in each individual establishment should exercise every effort to settle between themselves all questions arising in the employment relation without the intervention of outsiders. Management and men should regard this as one of their prime privileges and duties. This Conference should exert all possible influence in this direction.

4. As a means to this end the Employers' Group approves some form of shop organization in which representatives of the management and representatives of the men in the individual establishment, selected in each case from their own number, should meet for full and

*The Chadbourne resolution, as already explained, is the original resolution on Collective Bargaining.

frank discussion of all phases of the employment relation. There should be no representative of either party from the outside except with the consent of the other party, for the discussion should be confined to those who know the situation and who have no outside interest which interferes with or distracts attention from the single proposition, viz., what is fair and right in the employment relation in the establishment to the proper conduct of which all should be devoted. The representatives of the employees should be freely chosen by them, but they should not object if the management refuses to meet men from outside their own number and particularly if chosen from the membership or the agents of a labor union with which the employer has no relations; for such outside labor union men cannot be disinterested. They must necessarily be influenced by their loyalty to their union; their desire to promote its aspirations and to see it prosper. They may have ulterior objects in view and cannot work whole-heartedly and with singleness of purpose for the employees in the individual establishment. They are likely to bring in an element of antagonism which will be fatal to good relations between the employees, whom they purport to represent, and the employer. The employer should be free to exercise his judgment as to whether he will meet outsiders as representatives of his employees.

The Chadbourne resolution is inconsistent with all the above propositions and therefore was not approved by the Employers' Group. The substitute resolution recognized them all.

5. The Chadbourne resolution recognizes the right of workers to join labor and trade unions, but by its silence excludes their right to join shop councils or associations in an individual establishment which promise great results in establishing good employment relations. The substitute resolution recognizes this right also.

6. Again the Chadbourne resolution recognizes the right of employees of the government, such as policemen and firemen, upon whom depends the protection of life and property in the community, to join labor unions which may order them to strike or otherwise control their action as against the government. The substitute resolution protects the community in this regard.

Thus the Conference split, not on the issue of collective bargaining, the principle of which had been accepted by the Employers' Group, but on the issue of so construing collective bargaining that an employer could be forced to recognize an outside labor union agent as the representative of his employees regardless of whether or not he maintained an open shop. At no time did the Employers' Group deny the right of the employer to meet representatives of labor unions not in his employ, or other outsiders, if he voluntarily elected so to do.

In the final analysis, the stand taken by the Employers' Group was predicated on the maintenance of the open shop, which they regarded as a vital American principle and which they saw endangered by the adoption of the type of collective bargaining insisted upon by the Labor Group.

Publications of the National Industrial Conference Board

15 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

- Research Report No. 1.* WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACTS IN THE UNITED STATES — THE LEGAL PHASE. 60 pages. April, 1917. REVISED, August, 1919. \$1.00.
- Research Report No. 2.* ANALYSIS OF BRITISH WARTIME REPORTS ON HOURS OF WORK AS RELATED TO OUTPUT AND FATIGUE. 58 pages. November, 1917. \$1.00.
- Research Report No. 3.* STRIKES IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY IN WARTIME. 20 pages. March, 1918. 50 cents.
- Research Report No. 4.* HOURS OF WORK AS RELATED TO OUTPUT AND HEALTH OF WORKERS — COTTON MANUFACTURING. 64 pages. March, 1918. \$1.00.
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